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P R 262319Z APR 94
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
AMEMBASSY PARIS
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E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PGOV PREL RW KE ET EG
SUBJECT: RWANDA NEGOTIATIONS

1. SUMMARY - THE GOR HAS SENT MINISTER OF COMMERCE
MUGENZI AND MRND PRESIDENT NGIRUMPATSE TO NAIROBI, ADDIS
AND CAIRO TO EXPLAIN THE GOVERNMENT'S POSITION. IN PHONE
CONVERSATION WITH DEPARTMENT (FLATEN) BOTH TOOK HARD
LINE, OFFERING LITTLE HOPE FOR EARLY SUCCESS IN
NEGOTIATION. THEY SHARPLY CRITICIZED UGANDA AND THE UN,
AND HAD NO USEFUL IDEAS ON HOW TO STOP THE KILLING AND

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RESUME THE INTERNAL POLITICAL PROCESS. FLATEN URGED AN IMMEDIATE GOR CALL FOR END OF KILLING CIVILIANS, CEASEFIRE, AND ARRIVAL OF GOR DELEGATION IN DAR ES SALAAM. FM BICAMUPAKA IS BEING SENT TO WASHINGTON AND PERHAPS ELSEWHERE ON THE SAME MISSION. END SUMMARY.

2. DEPARTMENT HAS RECEIVED A NUMBER OF CALLS FROM RWANDAN OFFICIALS OUTSIDE THE COUNTRY. MOST PROMINENT HAVE BEEN MINISTER OF COMMERCE JUSTIN MUGENZI AND MRND PRESIDENT MATTHIEU NGIRUMPATSE WHO HAVE BEEN SENT ON A MISSION BY THE GITARAMA BASED GOVERNMENT TO EXPLAIN THE GOVERNMENT'S POSITION ON THE RWANDA TRAGEDY. THEY WILL COVER NAIROBI, ADDIS, CAIRO AND PERHAPS OTHER NORTH AFRICA COUNTRIES. WE HAVE ALSO HEARD FROM FORMER CABINET DIRECTOR ENOCH RUHIGIRA AND FORMER PM SYLVESTER NSANZIMANA. ALL TOOK THE INITIATIVE TO PHONE FORMER AMBASSADOR FLATEN. FM BICAMUPAKA IS REPORTEDLY BEING SENT TO WASHINGTON AND ELSEWHERE FOR THE SAME PURPOSE.

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ARUSHA VS GBADOLITE

3. ACCORDING TO MUGENZI AND NGIRUMPATSE THE GOR DELEGATION TO ARUSHA DEPARTED VIA GOMA, AND GOT "STUCK" IN KINSHASA. MUGENZI AND NGIRUMPATSE REPORT THAT THEY UNDERSTOOD MOBUTU HAD BEEN ASKED BY THE RPF TO BROKER A CEASEFIRE. HENCE THE GOR DELEGATION WENT TO GBADOLITE AND WAS SURPRISED NOT TO FIND THE RPF THERE WITH WHICH TO SIGN A CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT. THE GOR DELEGATION WAS SAID TO BE EXPECTED IN DAR ES SALAAM APRIL 25 OR 26 WHERE THEY WILL JOIN UP WITH MINISTER OF INTERIOR MUNYAZESA, FAUSTIN WHO REMAINED IN DAR WHEN HABYARIMANA LEFT APRIL 6. OTHER MEMBERS OF THE DELEGATION ARE MINISTER TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATION NTAGERURA, MINISTER OF JUSTICE AGNES NTAMABYALIRO, FORMER (BRIEFLY) CHIEF OF STAFF COL GATSINZI WHO IS WELL KNOWN TO US AND THE RPF FROM SERVICE WITH NMOG, AND A COL NTIWIRGABO OF THE GENDARMERIE WHO IS UNKNOWN HERE.

PROSPECTS FOR NEGOTIATIONS

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4. MUGENZI INSISTS THAT THE RPF REFUSES TO NEGOTIATE WITH THE GOVERNMENT, SO THERE IS NO HOPE. HE ACCUSES THE RPF OF NOT BEING SERIOUS SINCE THEY DIDN'T SHOW UP AT GBADOLITE. NGIRUMPATSE SAYS THE GOR CANNOT ACCEPT THE RPF INSISTENCE ON NEGOTIATING WITH RWANDAN MILITARY BECAUSE THE GOVERNMENT WANTS TO KEEP THE ARMY OUT OF POLITICS.

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THE UGANDAN FACTOR

5. BOTH M AND N INSIST THAT MUSEVENI IS CONTINUING TO REARM THE RPF. M SAID HE HAS "INTELLIGENCE" FROM KAMPALA DESCRIBING MUSEVENI'S INVITATION TO KAGAME TO COME TO UGANDA TO LOAD UP WITH MILITARY GEAR SO KAGAME CAN CAPTURE RUHENGERI. BOTH M AND N CLAIMED THAT IF THE GOR AND RPF COULD BE LEFT TO THEMSELVES, WITHOUT UGANDAN SUPPORT FOR THE RPF, THE TWO SIDES COULD WORK OUT THE PROBLEM.

THE UN ROLE

6. MUGENZI COMPLETELY REJECTED THE UNOMUR REPORT THAT THERE IS NO MAJOR REEQUIPPING OF THE RPF FROM UGANDA. HE CLAIMS THAT UNOMUR IS WORSE THAN USELESS, THAT THE GREAT POWERS COULD TELL THE UNSC TO TERMINATE THE MANDATE OF THE BORDER FORCE.

7. ON UNAMIR, MUGENZI WAS EVEN MORE NEGATIVE. "THEY BETRAYED US," HE SAID. THEY LET THE RPF BATTALION INTO KIGALI, THEN PERMITTED THEM TO LEAVE THE CND COMPOUND TO ATTACK. (NOTE: UNAMIR REPORTEDLY DID TRY TO KEEP THE RPF UNIT AT THE CND THE FIRST DAYS AFTER APRIL 6.)

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INTERNAL ISSUES

8. WHAT HAVE RWANDANS LEARNED FROM 3 WEEKS OF ALMOST UNLIMITED VIOLENCE? NGIRUMPATSE SAYS HE TRIED TO CONTROL THE INTERAHAMWE (MRND YOUTH) FOR A COUPLE OF DAYS AFTER APRIL 6, BUT IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE. THEY WERE DRIVEN BY FEAR OF BEING KILLED BY THE RPF, SO WILDLY WENT OUT TO KILL TUTSIS BEFORE THE TUTSIS KILLED THEM. MUGENZI ALSO EXPLAINS THE MASS KILLINGS AS A POPULAR REACTION TO THE KILLING OF PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA, NOT TO JUSTIFY IT, HE INSISTS, BUT SIMPLY TO EXPLAIN. MUGENZI ADMITS THAT THE INITIAL REACTION OF THE PRESIDENTIAL GUARD WAS MORE POLITICAL THAN ETHNIC, BUT SEES THE POPULAR ANTI-TUTSI CAMPAIGN AS AN EXPECTED OUTCOME. HE DESCRIBED HIS TRIP TO GOMA SATURDAY AS FRIGHTENING: THEY WERE STOPPED FREQUENTLY AT ROADBLOCKS WHERE PEOPLE WERE SEARCHING FOR RPF, BUT SETTLED FOR ANY TUTSI FOUND, THEN PULLED THEM FROM CARS TO KILL THEM.

ASKED WHO COULD NOW PULL TOGETHER A GOVERNMENT, NEITHER M NOR N COULD COME UP WITH A CANDIDATE. ASKED IF PM DESIGNATE FAUSTIN TWAGIRAMUNGU COULD RESUME HIS EFFORTS, BOTH, WHO HAD WORKED CLOSELY WITH FAUSTIN IN THE PAST, SAID NO. NGIRUMPATSE SAID FAUSTIN WAS TOO IDENTIFIED WITH THE RPF, HAD LOST CREDIBILITY, HAD NO PARTY FOLLOWING. MUGENZI AGREED, ADDING SIMPLY THAT HE COULD NO LONGER WORK WITH FAUSTIN (WHO WAS HIS CLOSEST ALLY FOR OVER 2 YEARS). EVEN RUHIGIRA, WHOSE COLLABORATION WITH FAUSTIN PRODUCED THE FIRST COALITION GOVERNMENT, SAID THAT FAUSTIN COULD NOT BE WORKED WITH. WHO ELSE? OUR LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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INTERLOCUTOR SUGGESTS WE, THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, SHOULD FIND NEW MODERATE SPOKESMEN FOR THE VARIOUS PARTIES. WE TOLD THEM IT WAS A RWANDAN RESPONSIBILITY, AND URGED THEM TO BEGIN IMMEDIATELY TO TRY TO BRIDGE THE ENORMOUS POLITICAL GAP THAT NOW EXISTS.

U.S. POLICY

9. FLATEN HAS TOLD ALL CALLERS THAT WE FIND THE MASSIVE KILLING COMPLETELY UNACCEPTABLE AND TOTALLY INCOMPREHENSIBLE, AND TRIED TO IMPRESS ON HIS

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INTERLOCUTORS THAT THEIR EXPLANATIONS ARE SIMPLY NOT ACCEPTABLE WHILE THE KILLING OF CIVILIANS CONTINUES. HE CALLED ON M AND N TO:

A. ISSUE A FIRM GOVERNMENT CALL FOR AN END TO THE KILLING OF CIVILIANS. IF THEY CAN'T COMMUNICATE WITH THE GOVERNMENT IN GITARAMA AS THEY CLAIM, THEY CAN ISSUE THE STATEMENT FROM NAIROBI BY THOSE NOW OUTSIDE, INCLUDING MUNYAZESA, AND ASK THAT IT BE REPLAYED IN RADIO RWANDA.

B. GET A DELEGATION, INCLUDING MILITARY, TO DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATELY TO BEGIN NEGOTIATIONS.

C. ACCEPT A CEASEFIRE NOW.

COMMENT

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10. IF THE KILLING CONTINUES AND THERE IS NO CLEAR CALL BY THE GOVERNMENT TO END IT, WE WILL NEED TO CONSIDER WHETHER TO RECEIVE THE FOREIGN MINISTER AND IF SO AT WHAT LEVEL. MUGENZI IMPLIED THAT HE CAN'T CALL FOR AN END TO KILLING WHILE THE RPF KEEPS ADVANCING, FIRING ON THE ARMY, AND BOASTING ON RADIO MUHUBURA OF ITS MANY VICTORIES. THIS IS GRASPING AT STRAWS, BUT WE WILL SUGGEST TO RPF HERE, AND REQUEST KAMPALA DO THE SAME, THAT THEY CEASE CLAIMS OF MILITARY VICTORIES AND CONCENTRATE THEIR PR EFFORTS ON CALLING FOR A CEASE FIRE, IN ORDER TO TRY TO CALM THE ATMOSPHERE, AT LEAST FOR A WEEK OR 10 DAYS.

11. THE INABILITY OF THESE RWANDAN INTERLOCUTORS TO ARTICULATE ANY SCENARIO LEADING TO PEACE, EITHER AMONG THE INTERNAL PARTIES OR WITH THE RPF, PROBABLY REFLECTS THE MOOD IN GITARAMA.

TALBOTT

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